/11 cont./

601 father and his brother, mother and her sister -- using for this class of relatives the /12/ same terms, even though making use of a suffix that distinguishes real parents from the classificatory ones, and in the same way among their reciprocals, as we have noted above. In ordinary conversation the suffix may be eliminated, thus confusing the real relatives with the classificatory ones. The children of these relatives are all brothers and sisters among themselves.

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• 611 This type of system seems to have its origin in the one known by the name of "Omaha," whose most outstanding characteristic is the classification of the male descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, with the mother's brother, and the classification of the female descendants, through the male line, of this same relative with the mother's sister. Nevertheless, in Cancuc there is a marked tendency to designate by means of the term kichán both the male and female descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, without any distinction of sex, which, according to the rule of the uniform reciprocals, brings with it on the part of a female EGO the designation of kichán for the children of the father's sister, in place of the kaal-jún used by a woman for this class of relatives. Furthermore, we are faced with the fact that the descendants of the mother's brother through the female line are no longer considered as relatives; that is to say, the descendants of a woman who is designated by the term mee-jún, and who, according to the rule of uniform descent, should
601 receive the title of "siblings," are not considered as such. This
614 disequilibrium tends to disappear with the elimination of the term mee-jún for this class of relatives and the extension of the term kichán for the designation of the same, embracing all the members of the maternal clan, that is to say, all those whom the mother of EGO calls "brother" and "sister." The term kichán, which formerly denoted "man of my mother's clan," would now mean "every person of my mother's clan."

[114] We have not been able to obtain the kinship terms corresponding to the descendants of the grandparents' siblings, since in the genealogies that we possess these terms do not appear because of having been replaced by those applied to clan siblings, or chapomales, or to members of the maternal clan, due to marriages concluded with persons belonging to these clans, there existing, as we have already indicated, a preference for these terms over those.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

a marriage was incestuous in the same sense as marriage between close relations. These surnames are transmitted patrilineally. Of ten informants in Chanal, nine gave their Indian surnames; the tenth said he had none. Furthermore, in cases where potential spouses have the same Spanish surname but different Indian surnames—and such cases occur—marriage between such persons is similarly discouraged. And in San Martin, Tenango, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo, where apparently the Indian surnames do not exist, Villa received information to the effect that marriage between persons of the same Spanish surname is disapproved."

Indian surnames noted by Villa, with translations offered him, follow:

CHANAL: Yemuc (large mouth), Xampil, Tiib, Calabal, Chicó, Cories, Comistal.
TENEJAPA: Tzurin (sowing?), Hoviltzil (mad dog), Uacax (cow), Chacax (?), Mee-mut (mother hen), Lobal (banana), Ton (stone).
CANCUC: Oxom, Say, Chig-yax, Coreta, Caxlan-pucú, Hokob-canela.
OXCHUC: Chinbac (small bone), Aquilan (from Aquilar), Chichol (tomato), Barsen (*pinto*), Nimail (squash-tip), Holchi (deer head).

In all the highland villages information was given to the effect that each *pueblo* (town, with its rural population, if any) is endogamous; in most instances the endogamy was represented as absolute. As some of the communities include only a few score of households, the matter requires further investigation.

The communities of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Bachajón (and apparently only these) are divided into antagonistic sub-communities called *calpules*. (Neither Starr nor Blom and LaFarge give information on this point.) In each case an imaginary east-west line across the plaza divides the northern lands of the one calpul from the southern lands of the other. In Cancuc (at least) the lands of the north are considered "hot," those of the south "cold," with corresponding favorable and unfavorable connotations as to their fertility. In Cancuc the northern calpul is called either *muhul calpul* 'large calpul' or else *alankuluhibal;* the southern is called *bikit calpul* 'small calpul' or else *kalankuluhibal*. Each calpul (*barrio* to the Ladinos) had its own government, established by the members of each calpul independently of the formal local government, which, recognized by the state and national authorities, acts for both calpules in matters that must be taken to the outside authorities. In Oxchuc the calpul officers are one *presidente*, two *alcaldes* or *cantakines*, two *gobernadores*, two *catinab* 'very respected chiefs,'

Among the Lacandons there are patrilineal, totemically named kinships grouped into two exogamous phratries (Soustelle, 1936); it is likely that among the ancient Maya of Yucatan there was surname exogamy. Landa says (Section XXIV), "... the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly. ... Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy" (Gates, 1937, p. 30). Landa also says (Section XXV), "... nor did they ever marry one bearing their own name on the father's side, for this was considered a very bad thing." On the subject of Maya names, Roys says, "The Maya family name, which was perpetuated in the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan pre-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptized. Two varieties of pre-names are well known, one indicating a man's profession or office, and the other, derived from his mother and preceded by the prefix Na-. The Maya called the latter the 'real,' and there were also two other classes of pre-names, which they called the 'boy-name' and the 'jesting name.' Many of the 'boy-names' are referable to fauna-names, especially those of birds, while some of the 'jesting names' appear to be descriptive. It seems to have been possible for a single person to have borne all four names" (Roys, 1934, p. 106).

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 428 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

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014 Although Murdock's statement takes a position which is not fully supported by the historical evidence, all information, however incomplete, points in the same direction.

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611 Baroco (1959b), working with the Register of Civil Marriages of the state of Chiapas from 1880 for Chanal, and the censuses of the same village for 1957, noticed that several patrilineal inherited Indian names were attached to a single Spanish surname. The Indian name functioned in regulating marriages. Moreover, through some of the realignments (in time depth) of name groups, he pointed out that the fusion and fission of the lineal segments could be traced historically, not only for one village, but for several villages sharing the same lineage names and suspected clans (represented by the Spanish name groups).

In another unpublished article, Baroco (1959a) indicated that according to the sixteenth and eighteenth century documents, including a book of baptisms, patrilineal name groups were associated with the naming of children with calendrical personal names, that is, names of the Mayan calendar, a custom reported in all early Mayan sources (see Barrera Vazguez, Ed. 1948; Recinos, A., Ed. 1950; Ximenez, Ed. 1857).

Contemporary evidence shows that several communities in the Chiapas highlands still preserve a strong patrilineal bent. Localized agnatic lineages and clans have been reported for Oxchuc (Villa Rojas, 1945; Siverts, H., 1960) where they have both ritual political and land-tenure regulatory functions, and Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes, 1952). Patrilineally inherited name groups with restricted corporate functions are present in practically

127 every Chiapas Highland community, including some highly acculturated towns such as Venustiano Carranza (McQuown et al., 1959).

128 Amatenango and Aguacatenango both have patrilineally inherited name groups and other slight indications of the previously hypothesized patrilineal "bent" (e.g., bride-price). Our problem, however, is not to reconstruct a hypothetical past, nor to assess the possibility of a change from patrilineal to something else. In this study, the discussion of the name groups will be carried on in the context of their functions, if any, at the present time.

Functions

If the theory of functional correlations between residence, kinship terminology, marriage customs, exogamy, etc., has any validity, we would suspect that Amatenango, with a domestic group organized along bilateral lines and matri-uxorilocal and viri-patrilocal residence having equal incidence, would not have unilineal descent groups, while Aguacatenango, with patri-virilocal residence and a domestic group organized around a core of agnatically related males would have preserved or have now (if it ever had, a fact which at the present we cannot emphatically support), an organization based on agnatic lineages, or it will show some aspects of a lineal organization outside the realm of the domestic unit.

In Amatenango, as suspected, the name groups "are not now functioning units in the social organization, neither on marriage, inheritance or social control" (Nash, J., 1960:5). Work activities, rituals, participation in community-wide sodality groups or festivities, compadrazgo ties, etc., are carried on by the household